

SONGS

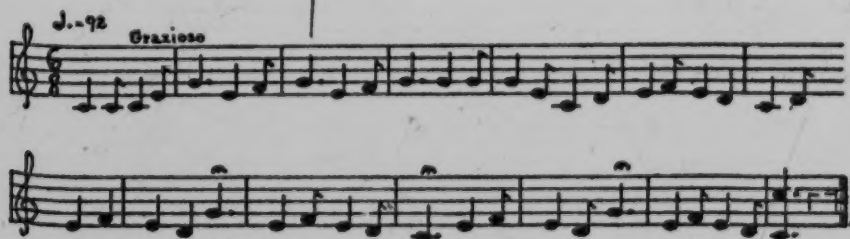
MODERN DANCE SONGS

INTRODUCTION

Although the songs that follow are called dance songs it is not to be presumed that no other poems in this collection were sung as the accompaniment of dances. Many others were doubtless so used. Dance, song, and poetry go hand in hand. The most comprehensive word of the dance is *faiva*, which is applicable to any accomplishment, or feat of skill. A man's *faiva* is that wherein he excels. In relation to festivals the *ngahi faiva* are the dances. A modern innovation of very wide application is *lakalaka*, literally marching. Older names of dances are still remembered, though some are seldom used of present-day dancing. Probably many old forms of dance have survived although their specific names have dropped out of use, and have been replaced by the more indefinite *lakalaka*, which is said to have originated with marching movements of children at church festivities in the earlier days of missions. The word now covers a wide range of men's and women's dances. A characteristic *lakalaka* is performed by a row of men and a row of women, the women being in front. Dancers keep time to the music with hands and feet. Type of subject and movement are at the discretion of the leader. There is much freedom of choice.

The *lakalaka*, and many other of the dances, are indeed ballets. Many of the movements are representative of the activities described by the accompanying song. Such tunes as those reproduced on pages 126-128 are typical of those sung to the *lakalaka*. A tune given by Mariner (28, vol. 2, last one facing p. 116) is still sung, though not to the *lakalaka*. One of the best places to hear typical old music is in church prayer-meetings. Religious emotion is still stirred and best expressed by the native music uninfluenced by later models.

The following tune was used as the accompaniment to a *lakalaka* performed at the time of the World War.



A PIOUS DEBAUCH.

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walls, amid the plaudits of the audience. So a second choir filed in, and a third and fourth, until the church was filled to overflowing. It was in reality a choral competition between the different divisions of the town, the outcome of three weeks of practice under the direction of the composer. The native parson meanwhile took his stand in the pulpit, and gave out a text, which was sung with fine effect by the combined choirs to a tune of native composition. An inspiring address followed, often interrupted by cries of applause. They were working up their enthusiasm for the real business of the evening.

After the sermon there was a long pause, during which the people looked furtively at one another. At last an old woman stood up, and the shouts of "*Fakafetai*" became deafening. "She is going to tell about her soul," whispered my neighbour. Upon this interesting subject she had a great deal to say in a monotonous flow of verbiage, drowned at times by the cries of "*Malo!*" I noticed, indeed, throughout the evening that the women had a far greater command of language than the men. Before she had finished, two middle-aged men and a very villanous-looking policeman were on their feet. The first to rise caught the parson's eye, and gave us a very long and weary diagnosis of his spiritual symptoms. The second elder was jaunty, and gently chaffed his soul, exciting bursts of merriment by screwing up his eyes at the laughing places. Three or four others had now risen, and remained standing in penitent attitudes until their turn came. The criminal-looking policeman had his say first. With forced

76 THE POLITICAL USES OF A STATE CHURCH.

781 calm he told us what a sinner he had been, and at each
783 disgraceful confession the audience shouted their applause.
Then with bated breath he told of his awakening; with
suppressed emotion he described his inward tumult:

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"The Lord has got my soul!"

words failed him; he caught his breath, he flung up his arms passionately, and after a silent struggle his voice rent the air in a hideous yell, "The Lord has got my soul!" He raved; he tore open his shirt as if he would pluck the heart out of him; and then, still raving, he flung himself on the ground in a frenzy of simulated sobs, and another took up the tale. It was a disgusting exhibition, but it was the success of the evening.

The performance of the next penitent—a grey-haired and respectable man—was original, but it had been eclipsed. He said nothing: he simply stood and was shaken by sobs, while real tears ran through his fingers. After some minutes of this repentance in dumb-show he made a gesture of despair, and sat down amid loud acclamations.

POLITICS IN CHURCH.

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There were some tame imitations of the three principal performers: then Tukuaho rose, and a hush fell upon the excited crowd. Religion was to give place to politics. He told them that he had come to the church that evening to find comfort for his wounded spirit. He had landed on their shore with joy, thinking that he had come among old friends, but his joy had been turned into sorrow. They were his friends no longer — why? He knew not, unless it was because a distasteful office had been forced upon him. Did they think that he had sought office? No! he was Premier by Tabou's command, not by his own choice. Out of his love for his king he had undertaken work for which he was unfitted, and with God's help he would carry it through. Many foolish things had been said (was not Tonga the land of lying reports?). It had even been asserted that the independence of their country would be lost. Lost? Well, he could tell them that there was one man who would fight if the independence of the country was endangered. That man was himself. But was there a man present who would not fight? (Hitherto



"He tore open his shirt."

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78 THE POLITICAL USES OF A STATE CHURCH.

645 only the women had been impressed, but now the men's
186 set faces relaxed, and there was a chorus of "*Malo!*")

645 But that was not all. There were some perhaps who
797 loved the man who was gone. Well—he was not there to
speak ill of the absent, but he would say this, that the
accounts were now being audited, and that some very
strange things were coming to light. Did they think that
any Tongan could thread the dark passages of such cun-

645 ning? No. The king knew that when he asked for a
643 white man to be sent to audit the accounts, and to make
609 the dark ways plain. He was present, sitting at his side.

(I tried to look unconscious.) In six short months he
would leave them: it would be useless for them to ask
him to stay longer—he could not. But he (Tukuaho) was
there to-night to speak of his soul, and not of politics.
What had politics to do with a church in which before
God all men were equal? It was true that his soul was
pained, but he had at least the comfort of knowing that
he was doing his duty.

634 Before the applause had subsided Fatafehi was on his feet.

"I hear that you are all angry with me. Very well:
that's your affair. But what is it about?" He laughed—
not his hereditary laugh, but a less pleasant sound. "I
will tell you why you are angry," he went on, and lashed
the mischief-makers with great vehemence, not even deign-
ing to end his speech with a devotional peroration.

796 "There will be less foolish talk to-morrow," said
645 Tukuaho as we came away. "It was a good *bolotu*, only
I am sorry that Fatafehi's words were so hot."

203 As soon as we reached home the spies were set in
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MARY IN THE CONFESSIONAL.

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motion to feel the pulse of the people after their dose
of tonic. 203
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Besides a pleasurable excitement the *bolotu* supplies the
place of the confessional, though, owing to its publicity, 796
the sins confessed are generally the more venial slips of 781
omission rather than of commission. But not always. 783
Tradition has it that the unregenerate Mary Butako, when



"When Mary 'told her soul.'"

past her first youth, showed leanings towards repentance, and there was dire consternation among the men of Savana. They took heart, however, when it was found that though she attended every *bolotu*, yet she never was moved to "tell her soul." A night came at last when the enthusiasm passed the bounds. The acclamations were mingled with the sobs of the penitents overwhelmed with a sense of their sin, and in the midst Mary was seen

80 THE POLITICAL USES OF A STATE CHURCH.

796 standing, weeping aloud. The dreadful day had come,
781 and one after another the men of the place slunk out to
783 spread the dire news among their comrades in distress.
Plaudits and tears were alike suppressed: this was too
serious a matter for ordinary demonstrations. A terrible
and damning history fell from the lips of this penitent
Phryne of the South Seas. When she had finished there
was scarcely a man in the church, but the women sat and
drank it all in, and many a household in Sawana dates its
domestic troubles from that terrible *bolotu* when Mary
"told her soul."

645 We began next day to reap the fruit of the seed
574 scattered at the *bolotu* overnight. We were haunted by
578 visitors. Our political opponents came in, each carrying
[431] in his hand the inevitable root of kava—for a Tongan
[276] making a visit of any ceremony would as soon forget his
kava as an English lady her card-case under similar cir-
[203] cumstances. They sat rubbing shoulders with the spies
from whom we knew exactly how much their new-born
[152] friendship was worth. There was, moreover, a nervous
hilarity about them that showed their sense of the awk-
wardness of their sudden change of front.

634 At mid-day we summoned a meeting of the Govern-
624 ment officials in the wooden court-house. There were the
[625] judge, the police magistrate, and the pound-keeper, all
malcontents; a dozen policemen and jail-warders, be-
lieved to be the same; the Treasury clerk, said to be
loyal; and greater than all—the head jailer, Kaho, a
[557] dark horse whom it was important to win over. He
proved to be the white-haired, bright-eyed *matabule*, who
had been my neighbour in the king's *faikava*, where he sat

XIII.

ODIUM THEOLOGICUM.

It has been the fate of all Churches to be tempted with the apple of temporal power; to lack the moderation to thrust it aside; and to fall by tasting of it. The errors that once ruined the Church of Rome—that may yet destroy her successor in England—may be watched in miniature in the South Pacific. There is something in the education of ecclesiastics, no less than in that of soldiers, that unfits them to wield the civil power. The messengers of peace and of war are prone alike to strain the authority committed to them, perhaps because they believe that the world has the same instinct of obedience as a regiment or a congregation. As in the fifteenth century the Popes, the successors of Peter the fisherman, exacted the obedience of sovereigns, so (to strain a comparison) the followers of Him who took the world for His parish claimed from the chiefs of Tonga the same marks of respect as were paid to them by their own vassals. They mistook the enthusiasm of a hysterical people for a permanent warmth of devotion to the new faith, forgetting that the very suddenness of their conversion marked them with the brand

of Athens,—a people ever running after some new thing. 797
While they were complacently receiving the homage of [781] their flock, when they reproved the chief Vuke for presuming to stand in their presence; when they humbled the chiefs and exalted the commoners; when they taught their flocks the rudiments of a representative government; when they allowed the natives to see their thirst for money,—they were infecting their cause with the disease of which it is now dying: while they wrangled with the priests of the rival Church, and taught the natives that to worship their crucified God with a visible crucifix was a degree lower than the heathenism they had cast away, they drilled with their own hands the holes by which their ship has foundered. There are many who blame Mr Baker only for the deplorable state of things that has made the Wesleyan Church in Tonga a byword throughout the southern hemisphere. Baker was not alone to blame. He must share the responsibility with the founders of the mission who begat the traditions of temporalities exacted by the ministry, of intolerance of rival creeds, and of the *auri fames* which their successors have inherited.

It is difficult to say which mission is most to blame for the unseemly antagonism which they displayed towards each other. 797
The Wesleyans have reproached the Roman Catholic priests with having joined and assisted the king's enemies in a rebellion against his authority, and so justify themselves for reviling them to the half-converted natives. 798
The reproach seems to me to be in a great measure undeserved. The French priests found that the Protestant missionaries had failed to convert a large body of the natives,—that they had even sanctioned an attack upon

778 In the Tongan Group the islands of Ata and Eua, and probably Euaiki
 823 (Little Eua) were first created. Eua was formed by Tangaloa, the
 craftsman, pouring down into the sea the scraps from his work-shop.
 At about the same time as this truly magnificent use was being made
 of the shavings from the bench of the craftsman god, Ata slowly made
 its appearance above the sea. On Ata were born the first men, three
 in number, formed from a worm bred by a rotten plant, whose seed
 was brought by Tangaloa from heaven. These three were afterwards
 provided by the Maui with wives from the Underworld. The well-
 known fishing expedition of the Maui hauled to the surface many of
 the remaining islands known to the early Tongans.

778 Later Maui Atalunga and Maui Kijikiji came up from the Under-
 world and settled at Koloa in Vavan, where a temple of Maui stood up
 to the time of the introduction of Christianity. Tradition is not quite
 consistent at this point. Atalunga married a woman of Vavan, whom
 one account represents as the mother of Kijikiji, who yet is regarded
 in other accounts, probably the most usual and authoritative, as having
 been a member of the expedition which fished up Vavan, and various
 other parts of Tonga, Samoa and Fiji. The whole question of
 the position of the Vavan of myth has an interest and difficulty not
 unlike that attaching to the Hawaiki series of place-names. Tregear,
 in his "Maori Comparative Dictionary," says (s.v., Wawan), "There
 is reason for thinking that Vavan in the Friendly Islands is not the
 mythological Vavan or Wawan; the name has been localised anew
 all over the Pacific." It is uncertain whether there will be ever
 complete enough information to make definite statement possible.

794 In spite of the widespread recognition of these major deities the
 practical affairs of life apparently did not so much compel resort to
 them as to a number of gods whose cults were in some cases nation-
 wide, and in others confined to different localities, or more strictly to
 565 various groups of people. The greater cults are always especially
 [794] associated with chiefs and great gentlemen attendants of chiefs, who
 are their people's representatives before the gods as in more mundane
 [771] affairs. In fact the deference and observances paid to the chiefs, and
 [643] particularly to the Tui Tonga, would seem to be a very practical part
 of the ordinary man's religion. The attribute of chiefiness, of which
 [781] the Tui Tonga was the human fountain-head, was essentially a thing
 sacred and of those things which men regard with religious awe.
 [776] Chiefiness is, in its origin, a gift of the gods, Ahoeitu, the first Tui
 Tonga, being the son of Eitumatubua, the Lord of Heaven, and a
 human mother. Although the gods of which one hears were
 776 worshipped by chiefs and larger or smaller groups, this does not mean
 [778] apparently that almost any object might not be adopted as sacred by
 a man and his household. There is a gradation in the divine hierarchy

643 of European clothing were worn by any of the
 797 people. It was evident that very little advance
 794 had been made, in these matters, upon the former
 [177] habits of the country. We were almost over-
 [291] powered, also, by the sickly odours of scented oils,
 [302] with which most of the worshippers were plenti-
 fully anointed. It sparkled on the hair, and trickled
 down the bare shoulders of old and young, to our
 great disgust. But notwithstanding this drawback
 to our pleasure, we certainly felt it "good to be
 there." The responses during prayer were united
 [796] and hearty; the singing was by no means wanting
 in good harmony,—a great advance upon that of the
 New Zealanders,—and the sermon was listened to
 with profound attention. At the close of the dis-
 course, Mr. Thomas, the officiating Missionary,
 called upon the king to pray. This he did with
 [782] much pathos and power, until his feelings quite
 [781] overcame him, and a general outburst of weeping,
 and warm "Amens," relieved the emotions of the
 large congregation. We understood very little of
 the language; yet we felt that there was here no
 hypocritical or fictitious show, but the genuine and
 unsophisticated evidences of a simple and earnest
 religion.

797 The lamented death of the Rev. Francis Wilson,
 at Vavau, rendered it advisable that his loss should
 be supplied as soon as possible; and we therefore
 prepared to advance another stage on our long
 voyage. A few days happily spent in Nukualofa
 and the neighbourhood, in observing the native
 habits, and in acquiring a knowledge of the more
 simple elements of the language, prepared us to face
 once more, with cheerfulness, the troubles of sea
 life. Our final destination was now only about

SERMON ON SITE OF THE DESTROYED VILLAGE. 87

We all expected death, and prayed for the coming
of the 'John Wesley.' O, why did she not come?
All the people here are afraid of the wrath of God.
Sinners have confessed and forsaken their sins.
God has shown mercy as well as wrath; and nearly
all the people meet in class." [733] [731] [783]

It is not to be wondered at that a deep, and
wide-spread, religious awakening should have fol-
lowed the solemn scenes attendant upon the erup-
tion; and the first desire of the survivors of the
destroyed village, and, indeed, of all the inhabit-
ants, seemed to be to escape from the presence of a
power so mighty and destructive. Hence it was but
natural that they should long for the appearance of
the Mission ship, which was expected about that
time on her usual annual visit. That vessel was
almost the only link of connexion they had with
adjacent islands; and, had it arrived at the time,
it would have afforded them the most likely mode
of transference to another country. [731] [781]

As soon as the cooling of the surface permitted any
exploration of the scene of the calamity, it was deter-
mined, by the chiefs of the island, to hold a religious
service, as near as possible to the supposed site of the
overthrown village. Accordingly a large assem-
blage of people met, courageously yet solemnly,
under the shadow of the largest volcano, then still
in action. John Latu, the then resident Assistant
Missionary, delivered on the occasion a most touch-
ing and impressive discourse from these words:
"For we know that if our earthly house of this
tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of
God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the
heavens." [731] [794] [797]

After a considerable time had elapsed, the peo-

797 summoned to the presence of the chief whose duty
 634 it is to deliver it in the king's name. They are
 203 told that it is the king's desire they should
 immediately return to Vavau, in which case he
 would restore to them lands, and wives, and
 friends. It was a tempting bait; but what was the
 instant answer? "Tell the king," said they, "that
 if he will permit us to pray, we will go; but if not,
 we will not go. We prefer a life of poverty where
 we can pray to God, to wives, or houses, or lands,
 without God." With much less light and know-
 797 ledge than the three Hebrew children, who, at all
 781 risks, refused to obey the blasphemous mandate of
 King Nebuchadnezzar, these two humble Christian
 converts were equally firm in their adherence to
 the faith of Christ. They were fully prepared even
 to die if needful; but God did not permit them to
 be tried to that extremity.

797 With Lube we had no personal acquaintance, but
 157 we found in Faone a man of no common stamp of
 mind. He was an able, and very original and power-
 ful preacher; and for some years he did good service
 as an evangelist in Fiji, to which country he went,
 in answer to the call of the church, a few years after
 his conversion. From thence he was removed again
 to his own native land, and we trust he still lives
 to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour. He was
 lacking in prudence in regard to some of his proceed-
 ings, in the management of the Mission committed
 to his care, while in Fiji; and, after his return to
 Vavau, he also incurred the displeasure of King
 George in reference to some political affairs; but we
 believe him to have been a thoroughly good man,
 and to have been possessed of no ordinary gift in
 prayer. At all events, his name deserves to be

634 to the government of Ulukalala. Accordingly the
 798 fortress of Otea was closely invested by Taufaa-ahau
 669 and his warriors, as the allies of Ulukalala. Very
 soon the spirit and courage of the besieged began
 to flag, and ultimately the fort was taken by strata-
 agem, and was razed to the ground, without any
 bloodshed:—a new thing truly in the tactics and
 annals of Tonguese warfare, as well as a commanding
 evidence of the great change that had already
 come over the temper and habits of the people.

797 Soon after this bloodless conquest, the rebel
 798 chiefs and their retainers, one by one, joined the
 Christians; and thus was heathenism, as a system,
 completely swept away, even before the foot of an
 English Missionary had touched the shores of
 Vavau.

634 Zephaniah Finau Ulukalala did not long survive
 666 the period of his own conversion, and that of his
 (797) subjects. He died toward the close of 1833, truly
 relying upon the Saviour; and by his dying com-
 mands and nomination, the chiefs of Vavau pro-
 ceeded to elect Taufaa-ahau, then baptized George,
 King of Haabai, to the supreme government of
 Haafuluhao. Although, in after years, it appeared
 that this was not done very heartily by certain of
 the chiefs, yet they could not deny the just heredi-
 tary right of Taufaa-ahau to become Ulukalala's
 successor. The election, therefore, was carried into
 effect in due form, and with the apparent consent
 and sanction of all concerned.

634 This accession of King George was, undoubtedly,
 781 of great importance to the interests of religion in
 Vavau; but an event of still greater moment
 occurred in the course of the years 1834-35.

It pleased God to visit the people of Vavau, at

A GREAT RELIGIOUS AWAKENING. 163

that time, with a deep and wide-spread religious awakening, in which many hundreds sought and found Divine mercy. During the progress of this remarkable visitation, King George himself, and the Queen, who had been baptized by the name of Charlotte, had occasion to visit Vavau. They also felt the power of God upon their minds, and attained a higher state of religious experience than that of a mere nominal profession. The love of God was shed abroad in their hearts, and from that time they both devoted themselves to a course of real godliness, and of practical usefulness in various departments of Christian service.

Many cases of genuine and satisfactory conversion gladdened the hearts of the Missionaries then on the spot; but it would be hazardous to fix, with arithmetical precision, the exact number. We may be permitted to doubt whether "two thousand two hundred and sixty" persons were savingly converted in the course of six weeks. We do not doubt either the power or the grace of God to do this, but we do question the possibility of an uninspired person calculating with such nicety the results of any similar visitation. The cause of truth is only damaged by the attempt. But we can avow that the moral aspect of the Vavauans was wholly changed, and that a great and lasting impetus was given to the spread of vital Christianity throughout the entire group of islands.

During the interval that elapsed between this awakening and our own arrival in 1846, the churches of Haafuluhao held on the even tenour of their way, unopposed by any heathen influences, and only troubled in 1837 by a vexatious but ineffectual attempt, made by a Romish bishop and

ANOTHER GREAT RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT. 165

were observed and honoured; while the general morality of the people was such as commanded the admiration of all right-minded visitors, although it had, more than once, elicited the bitter sneers of lascivious and unprincipled men, who in former times, when visiting these shores, rioted in unbridled and unchecked lust. 797
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In this year also, another season of spiritual power had come. The awakening began in the same village of Utui, where that of 1834 commenced: and like the former, this also broke out under the preaching of a native. Several events had recently contributed to deepen religious feeling, where it already existed, and to produce anxiety in the minds of the careless and ungodly. Out of 797
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four Missionaries one only remained. One had died under peculiarly distressing and sudden circumstances; another had been compelled, through failure of health, to vacate his post; and lastly, in March, 1846, the people had witnessed the holy and happy end of the Rev. Francis A. Wilson, a Missionary who had been greatly esteemed and beloved, both by his colleagues, and by all the people. About the same time, the terrific eruption took place at Fonua Lei, of which an account has already been given. For more than two weeks the islands of Haafuluhao were rocked, night and day, by the most alarming earthquakes. During part of that time, the shocks recurred at intervals of only ten or fifteen minutes. The inhabitants knew not what might happen at any moment, and the stoutest-hearted quailed in the presence of phenomena so grand and awe-inspiring. All these various occurrences were overruled and accompanied by the power of the Holy Spirit, 133
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133 until the question came earnestly from hundreds
 781 of the people, "What must we do to be saved?"

797 Upon landing at Neiafu we were cordially wel-
 781 comed by the people, and we found the Rev. Peter
 Turner, almost worn out by the incessant toils and
 excitements of the previous few months. Day and
 night he had been ministering the Word of Life;
 and for weeks together he had been absent from
 his home, visiting all the towns and islands in
 succession, that he might, by his personal labour
 and oversight, direct, or check, where necessary, the
 outburst of religious feeling that was sweeping over
 the entire population.

Although the Tonguese are naturally a very
 stately and reserved people, it could not be ex-
 pected, that such an extensive religious movement,
 embracing all ranks and every description of cha-
 racter, should be entirely free from objectionable
 features. Nevertheless, the amount of real good
 done was great and indisputable. Many of the
 worst adversaries of the truth were truly converted;
 and not a few of these very men are now employed,
 as Christian ministers and teachers, on important
 Stations in their own land, or else in Fiji, Samoa,
 and in other regions.

797 without any thought of either present or future
159 remuneration. But, what was better still, Hafoka
breathed in the atmosphere of a truly Christian
family, where he could closely observe their mode
of life day after day. Here he heard many Chris-
tian phrases and allusions, in ordinary conversation,
to which he had never before listened, and which
he could not understand, until he received explana-
tions from his friend Moala, who was not slow to
answer the inquiries of his visitor. At length, the
Christian conversation of his new companions, and,
above all, a few visits to the school of the village,
where he had begun to learn his alphabet, although
more than forty years of age, decided him to make
a formal surrender of himself to God's people. The
Sabbath day was at hand, when Hafoka resolved to
enter the house of prayer, for the first time in his
life, as an avowed worshipper of the living God.

797 Few of the numerous places of worship in Ton-
346 gatabu could excel, or even equal, the little chaste
and picturesque chapel at Neiafu. It stood in the
midst of a dense mass of trees, some of which were
of gigantic proportions, and all covered with the
richest foliage. It had been recently built under
our own inspection; and, shortly after it was
opened for Divine worship, certain strange appear-
ances in the interior of the building, made a deep
impression on the minds of the people. I state the
facts as they were related to myself, without ven-
turing any opinion as to an explanation of the
phenomena described.

797 A series of evening prayer-meetings was held in
346 the chapel, not long after its dedication; and, on
781 one such occasion, an aged couple were the first to
approach the building, carrying with them, as

STRANGE SIGHT AT NEIAFU CHAPEL. 301

usual, their own lights. What, however, was their great dismay, on perceiving, as they supposed, that the interior of the building was on fire! They raised an alarm, and, joined by several other persons, rushed into the building; which, strange to say, was found without any indications whatever of light or fire. Instant and vigorous search was made, but nothing could be discovered to explain the remarkable appearance. On several subsequent occasions, a similar light was witnessed, by many respectable and credible persons. After the fullest inquiry, and especially after the testimony borne by Samuel Moala, I could have no doubt of the reality of the phenomenon itself, however it may be explained or understood. It is most likely that it had a natural explanation; but, we need scarcely say, that the sight was regarded, by the natives themselves, as supernatural in the highest degree. We suggested that it might have been the clever freak of some one intending to alarm the coming worshippers, or that a number of fire-flies might have got into the building; but, those who had seen the appearance, scouted all such explanations as insufficient.

In this very place, the writer of these pages was preaching, on the Sabbath morning on which Hafoka crossed the threshold, knelt down in the humblest attitude of prayer, and breathed out his desires to God; a heathen no longer, but a humble disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ. That sight was worth a life-time of Missionary toil and sacrifice. Many examples of the triumph of Gospel truth over heathen unbelief and prejudice, were afforded to all the Missionaries who have laboured in the Friendly Islands, and to ourselves among the number; but,

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[1830-1834]

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promptly gave Taufa'ahau an emetic which had the desired effect. Prayers were offered all night for his recovery. 643
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"No Christian slept that night. As daylight appeared a wailing cry was heard. At first we thought the king was gone but we soon learnt that it was a cry of joy from the king's sister because the king was better. . . . From that time Christianity spread and increased in strength while the kingdom of the devil became weaker and weaker" (so declared Peter Vi).⁽⁹⁾

Although the main opposition to the spread of Christianity came from factions within Tonga itself, there were also white renegades who gave trouble. Several of these had settled at Vava'u. One of them who came with Finau to the festival, named Thomas Harris, abused Thomas publicly at the island of Ha'ano (north of Lifuka). These men were trying to persuade Tongans not to follow the missionaries' teachings. Relief came opportunely from the senior naval officer in the Pacific, Captain the Honourable William Waldegrave, H.M.S. *Seringapatani*. He called at Vava'u and removed five white men who had been maligning the missionaries and opposing their work. Such an action may seem arbitrary, but not so at that time and with the type of whites concerned. John Thomas in Ha'apai expressed warm appreciation of the captain's action. Captain Waldegrave gave as a reason for removing these men the harm they were doing to England's reputation among the islanders.⁽¹⁰⁾ 797
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On 5 August 1830 Thomas reported that from 1000 to 1500 people in the Ha'apai group had "embraced Christianity and are open to instruction", and also a few had come from Vava'u for this purpose.⁽¹¹⁾ In November 1830 there were 170 in his class and 150 females in his wife's afternoon class, at Lifuka. The number professing Christianity in the Ha'apai group had then risen to 1800. 797
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Taufa'ahau delayed his baptism until 7 August 1831. On the day before this event there was a feast, with nineteen fat hogs and several hundred yams. At the service more than 2000 were present, the majority outside the chapel. Taufa'ahau had begun "meeting in class" as a "member on trial" in November 1830. Three of his children were baptized together with him, all kneeling in front of the pulpit; the children were Salote, then seven years old, and David and Josiah, the latter only 1½ years old. Taufa'ahau told the congregation, 797
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"A short time ago I was living in a very wicked way and served the devil with all my might. . . . I now come to give myself and these my children, body and soul, to the Lord Jesus and to be baptized in His Holy Name."⁽¹²⁾

The chief took the name George, from George III of England, whose name had been venerated in Tonga since the visit of Captain Cook. Thenceforward Taufa'ahau was generally referred to as King George by the missionaries. The large and bold handwriting in recording the baptism of "George Taufa'ahau, King in Lifuka" (sic) seemed to indicate John Thomas's recognition of this important event. 551

Taufa'ahau was not only certain of his own faith, but on the day of his baptism he called upon his people to live consistently with their profession as true Christians. Some time elapsed before he became a local preacher, in 1834, and when this happened he insisted on wearing European clothes whenever he occupied the pulpit; this showed his desire to resemble the missionaries in outward garb. He asked to be given preaching appointments to various villages in the same way as other local preachers. He proved eloquent and effective. When he prayed at the conclusion of a service the feelings of the congregation were 797
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[1833 - 1834]

797 in translation and printing. His ability in printing was regarded by Thomas as superior to Woon's.

David Cargill, M.A. (Aberdeen), who arrived in Tonga on 24 January 1834, was an outstanding member of the mission staff in both Tonga and Fiji. He was born in 1809 at Brechin, Forfar, Scotland. His family were Presbyterians as his descendants have been. It was while he was a student at King's College, Aberdeen University (1826-30), that he attended a Wesleyan revival service in the city and experienced an evangelical conversion. He graduated Master of Arts and offered for service in Wesleyan Missions. His bride, Margaret Smith, of Aberdeen, became a Wesleyan before they were married on 6 September 1832. In Vava'u and Fiji she nobly supported her brilliant husband. At the age of only thirty, after bearing six children of whom four survived, she died at Rewa, Fiji, on 2 June 1840. Cargill was the finest linguist among the early missionaries; with Cross, he became the pioneer to Fiji on 12 October 1835.

The total staff of seven missionaries in 1834 was not too large for the growing Church in Tonga; and suddenly in that year a sensational revival broke out. This had important results for the future of Wesleyan Missions in Tonga, Fiji and Samoa.

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781 Extraordinary scenes, first in Vava'u and afterwards in the rest of the group, occurred in the early flush of the people's contact with the new faith. It was not surprising that this sudden onset of a "Pentecost", as the missionaries regarded it, began in Vava'u with its emotional people. Nevertheless, the missionaries believed it to be an answer to their own prayers; they had been concerned about the nominal nature of the acceptance of Christianity by most of the people and they had prayed for evidences of sincere penitence and a real change of life.

On the afternoon of a week-day, 23 July 1834, a local preacher, Isaiah Vovole, was preaching at the small village of 'Utui. His text was Luke xix. 41-42, Christ's lament over the city of Jerusalem that had rejected his warnings. During the sermon the people were so moved that they began to cry out aloud for God's forgiveness until their voices drowned the preacher's. Only nightfall stopped the service. The people of 'Utui stayed awake all that night waiting for the morning when a prayer-meeting followed.⁽⁸⁸⁾ From village to village the exciting scenes were repeated until in less than a week all Vava'u was aflame. As many as six prayer-meetings were held in some villages in one day. Homes as well as churches were used for the purpose. Schools were suspended for the time being.

On the second day Peter Turner went to 'Utui to inquire into what had happened in Isaiah Vovole's service and to encourage the people in seeking pardon for their sins. Taufua'ahau had heard about the excitement and wondered whether it was "something evil"; but Turner told him that it was another Pentecost and also that it resembled what had sometimes occurred in the early days of the Wesleyan revival in England.

For two weeks services of this nature continued. As many as 200 people lay unconscious on the floor of the church at Feletoa⁽⁸⁹⁾, and this was not exceptional. The sound of weeping in the churches often could be heard at some distance. It was usual for weeping to be followed by shouts of joy with the consciousness of forgiveness. More than 1,000 professed conversion in the first few days. Turner wrote,

"While sitting in our house we heard, on all sides, persons praying and crying for mercy. It was almost impossible to sleep, such was the earnestness of persons crying for mercy, and others coming to tell us that they had obtained the blessing of salvation."⁽⁹⁰⁾

[1834]

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Turner, a revivalist preacher, always tended towards emotionalism. Though he in particular welcomed the movement he was not alone in his opinions. The scholarly David Cargill, newly arrived in Vava'u, and Charles Tucker in Ha'apai, viewed the spiritual avalanche in the same way as Turner. Cargill's statements are illuminating —

"In the church at Neiafu several hundreds of people simultaneously cried aloud for pardoning mercy. . . . Taufua'ahau seemed utterly confounded, and was seen at one time kneeling, and at another standing and surveying the congregation, and apparently irresolute how to behave. . . . Nearly 400 people were on their knees." (41)

The queen swooned and had to be carried out by the king and others. In the middle of that night the king sent a message to Peter Turner telling him that, while he and the queen were praying together in their bedroom, they felt the Spirit of God in such a manner that they experienced "an overwhelming sense of their guilt and misery in the sight of God, and they were unable to sleep". The missionaries and leading church-members had been praying for Taufua'ahau since his lapse into polygamy in the previous year. His conversion took place at a prayer-meeting on 31 July. Cargill reported,

"The king fell on his knees on a mat in his pew, trembling and literally roaring. . . . Being at length enabled to exercise faith in the merits of the Redeemer, he exultingly exclaimed, 'The Lord has pardoned my sins'." (42)

This statement greatly affected the missionaries, the teachers, and the congregation of about 500. Since then, Cargill added, the king was "a humble, devoted man of God". He was admitted to the office of local preacher on 9 October 1834 and preached his first sermon at Makave on 17 October. "Many wept for joy" when they heard Taufua'ahau preach for the first time. When a new chapel was opened at Neiafu on 10 August 1836, the king preached in an English suit of clothes (the missionary, Stephen Rabone, reported). His text was the same as at the opening of the chapel at Lifuka in 1835 — Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple in Jerusalem.

One of the many hundreds converted in the 1834 revival was the former Borabora teacher, Taute, who was baptized Matthew, and became pastor-teacher at the village of Makave.

Meanwhile the "holy epidemic" quickly spread to Ha'apai. In a few days 2,000 there professed conversion. Tucker reported that he had to close the first revival service when daylight faded and that there were hundreds waiting for the resumption of worship at dawn when "some hundreds were obliged to remain in the chapel-yard" outside a crowded church. As many as five services were held in one day, 19 September. (43)

In Tongatapu the situation was different. Whereas no heathen were left in Vava'u and Ha'apai they were in the majority in Tongatapu. Notwithstanding this, the revival affected Tongatapu, though to a lesser extent than the northern islands. There was fierce opposition to Christianity, especially from "Mu'a, seat of the devil's government", as John Thomas termed it. (44) During the time of the revival in Tongatapu four chapels were burnt down by the non-Christian party, gardens were plundered, and many Christians were obliged to assemble in Nuku'alofa as a city of refuge. The District Meeting of the missionaries had to be postponed because of the hostility.

What should be said of this "Pentecost"? It came like refreshing showers to the missionaries who even wondered whether the world outside Tonga was

[1834-1847]

747 experiencing a similar visitation. It is natural to point to the Tongans' excitable
781 temperament and also to the guilt-complex which the preaching of those days
tended to produce. This does not explain everything. There was an undoubted
change of behaviour in many of those who professed conversion in 1834. Their
new and consistent pattern of living could not be attributed to transient
emotionalism even though the effect soon faded with many others. Some of the
converts became stalwart teachers, not only in Tonga itself, but in Fiji and
Samoa; and some of these, in Fiji, passed through fires of persecution. Joel Bulu
can be taken as a conspicuous illustration. His published life-story tells of
a highly emotional conversion in Vava'u in June 1834, immediately before the
revival itself broke out. The psychological details, the release from fear and guilt,
the newly-found joy, can be analysed critically, but the result was a life of
unswerving fidelity and sacrifice in this transformed Tongan who became Fiji's
greatest missionary.

It is true that the 1834 experience disposed missionaries to expect a repetition.
Peter Turner, after scenes of a similar kind in Samoa (1835-39), returned to
Vava'u, and in 1846 experiences like those of 1834 took place under his
leadership. On 4 February, 1846, he wrote that 529 people had been converted
and that the chiefs had pardoned all lawbreakers — except those who had set
houses on fire (an outbreak of arson had preceded the revival). Peter Turner's
study was then a place of prayer for many penitents. Prayer-meetings were
sometimes held at 5.30 a.m., 5 p.m. and from 8 to 10 p.m. on the same day.⁽⁴³⁾
Shortly afterwards, Walter Lawry visited Tonga as General Superintendent. He
was disposed to disparage this revival (as did Stephen Rabone, a fellow-missionary),
and at the District Meeting of 1847, over which Lawry presided, Turner came
under criticism for what Lawry called the "unholy excitement" attending his
ministry in Vava'u.

The Wesleyan Church in Tonga accepted as normal and desirable this
emotionalism which was so vividly seen in the 1834 revival. Most of the
missionaries sincerely encouraged it, believing that these emotional scenes were
evidences of the Holy Spirit's converting power. Not all of them seemed to realize
how easily the natural feelings of the Tongans could be aroused and how transient
the experience could be in many cases.

797 However, the immediate benefits of the 1834 revival were striking. Member-
781 ship soared although the missionaries were careful to receive only those who
795 attended "class" and who gave proof of their conversion by changed conduct.
794 Even with these requirements the District Meeting at the beginning of 1835
reported an increase of 3,602 members, making a total of 7,838. Ha'apai showed
3,448, Vava'u 3,061, Tongatapu significantly only 929, Niua Toputapu 400.

797 The Church in Vava'u felt a special responsibility for the two Niuas. In
1835 a party of 150 people went in two boats to Niua Fo'ou; seventy of them
were lost in one boat. In another voyage forty were lost, and these included the
senior teacher appointed to Niua Fo'ou; his body was washed up, still clutching
his Bible. The District Meeting on 22 October 1836 appointed a missionary, John
Spinney, to Niua Fo'ou; his health, unfortunately, was most precarious and he
died, of tuberculosis, not long afterwards, without taking up this appointment or
any other in the islands.

Niua Toputapu benefited from Peter Turner's visit of five months under
special circumstances. He had left Vava'u on 15 January 1835 to take up his new

[1837]

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an immediate attack on the outskirts of Nuku'alofa; they were observed by sentries before the attack could be carried out. Aleamotu'a had been on the defensive but the situation changed with the arrival of the army from the north which set out to punish the enemy. This they did with horrible severity. 669 643 748

On 9 January, as Taufa'ahau and his warriors were sailing past the rebel fort at Ngele'ia, near the beach and not far from Ma'ofanga, the defenders of the fort heaped curses on him. In Tongan custom this constituted an insufferable insult against a chief, and Taufa'ahau reacted violently. On the day following the cursing, he mustered his army and called them to prayer before the assault on the fort. When they rose from their knees Taufa'ahau addressed them, 576 669 643 748 776

"and told them that he had not sought to be engaged in this war, but the Lord had evidently led him to it in defence of his cause, and that, as they were about to engage, no man was to fear".⁽¹²⁾

Rabone recorded in his journal⁽¹⁰⁾ that when Taufa'ahau's men prayed before the attack, "they felt (according to their own expressions) just as when the revival of religion broke out". It was another evidence of fanaticism. 781

All inside Ngele'ia were slaughtered. One account gave 26 as the number, another 40, and these included women and children. Most of them were the people of Lavaka, the chief of Pea, who was absent from Ngele'ia because of illness, and who was "the chief promoter of the present war".⁽¹⁷⁾ The missionaries' disapproval of this tragic event was rather mildly expressed. Hobbs wrote,

"Why the king should order all to be killed I cannot say; when we heard of it we were very sorry that the women and children were not spared. Bro. Watkin entreated the king to spare the women and children in case that they (the king's army) should destroy the men of the fortress."⁽¹⁸⁾

Further statements by Hobbs do nothing to reduce the disgrace of Ngele'ia:

"Taufa'ahau was most remarkable for sparing those he overcame in war, and on three former occasions not a single person was put to death when he conquered their fortresses. He has, however, been heard to say lately that he was tired of sparing those who used him ill, and that some of these whose lives would most certainly have been taken but for his interference in days of old, now were among the first to curse and execrate him, and blaspheme the name of the Most High, so that he would now serve them according to their deserts. . . . The people also say that the women here (Ngele'ia) were as bad as the men, especially in their curses and aggravating expressions."⁽¹⁹⁾

The heads of some of those slain at Ngele'ia were sent to Aleamotu'a by Taufa'ahau, in accordance with pre-Christian customs in warfare.⁽²⁰⁾ This barbarous incident as well as the deaths of women and children at Ngele'ia reflected sadly upon the character of Taufa'ahau as a professing Christian of some six years' standing, even allowing for his imperious will and his sharp resentment of insults. 727

On another Sabbath, 15 January, the gardens of the Nuku'alofa people were despoiled. Some of the defenders were on the watch and rushed out, pursuing the rebels almost as far as the fort of Pea and killing nine. Soon afterwards, a small fort at Te'ekiu, in Hihifo, was captured by Taufa'ahau's army, with only one defender killed.

On 25 January the most sanguinary episode of the war occurred. This was the sacking of the rebel fort at Hule, near Nukunuku. It was occupied by those who had driven out their chief, Tu'ivakano. Hobbs wrote that it had been "for a long time a nursery of persecution and rebellion".⁽²⁰⁾ Before the attack, 669 643 721 727 798

"George told his men that they had not come from Ha'apai and Vava'u to possess Tonga but because the cause of Christianity was being persecuted."⁽²¹⁾

[1834-1850]

At Mu'a, Fatu, Lawry's old friend, remained obdurate. In 1842, when he was dying, he was visited by Thomas and other missionaries. Before he died, a relative was strangled to appease the gods. The first youth selected ran away. The next was a boy, about twelve years old, who was strangled with a cord held by his father and other men. Tungi, Fatu's son and successor, considered giving up his old religion and, during his uncertainty, both the heathen party and Roman Catholic priests (who had been in Tongatapu since 1842) tried to persuade him against the step which he finally took in 1850. During the previous year he permitted a Wesleyan missionary to reside at Mu'a. When he was converted about 200 of his people immediately followed him. Tungi's gods were given to Lawry who was visiting Tonga at the time. The old mission-house Lawry had occupied in 1822-3 had stood on the site of the chapel where Tungi publicly accepted Christianity. His decision had a marked effect in Hahake, the eastern section of Tongatapu. 797
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Throughout these years nothing troubled the missionaries in all parts of the group more than evidences of instability. Perhaps they had expected too much too soon. Outward success in the northern islands had come almost too easily. It would be difficult to find another country in the 19th Century where thousands of converts were swept into a missionary church as quickly as in Tonga in the 1830's. Under these circumstances superficiality and a waning of enthusiasm were to be expected.

The missionaries must have realized that emotional revivals suited the Tongan temperament and that some conversions would be short-lived. Yet they tended to be over-confident when such revivals took place and some of them expected a repetition. Peter Turner and his contemporaries showed this in 1834 and 1846 in Vava'u. George Daniel was gladdened when, again in Vava'u, there was an emotional revival in 1855. Although much good came from these experiences some of the missionaries realized the lack of depth and of consistency with many of the people. Rabone's Journal showed the apprehension with which he heard of the "wild fire" in Vava'u in 1846.⁽¹⁾ Thomas Adams, a little later, showed a keener perception of the situation than other missionaries did, when he wrote: [181]

"These people are very excitable and very ignorant and consequently very unstable, and much of the good has passed away."⁽²⁾ [181]

Even John Thomas wrote of "the instability which is characteristic of the Tonguese which is like the morning cloud and the early dew which soon passeth away". [181]

Clearly, systematic teaching and supervision were needed to prevent lapses into former immoral habits and to build up the converts in their faith. The critical mistake had occurred after the mass movement in 1834 when the work should have been consolidated, and when Cross, Cargill, and, a little later, Dr. Lyth, were sent to Fiji, and Peter Turner to Samoa, in all cases with the cream of the Tongan converts as teachers for the new fields which benefited at Tonga's expense.

The opportunities given by the restoration of peace in 1840 demanded more missionaries, and these of the highest intellectual and spiritual gifts. Unfortunately, there was an unevenness in the quality of the men serving in this period. The staff in Tonga suffered by comparison with men of the calibre of Hunt, Lyth, Thomas Williams, Hazlewood and Calvert in Fiji, men conspicuous in intellectual vigour as well as courage and enterprise. Naturally, there were exceptions. Tonga had talented men in Stephen Rabone and, later, Thomas West, Richard Amos and Thomas Adams, but they were not always given sufficient opportunities by their